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AND J. MORTIMER, PHILADELPHIA.

SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSION AND LECTURE FOR THIS MONTH.

MAY 1st. Is man capable of acting on purely disinterested motives? (*Adjourned Question.*)

8th. Is the establishment of a Society in which right to equality of property shall prevail, practicable or desirable? (*Adjourned Question.*)

15th. Are argumentative discussions to be regarded as proper and effective means for elucidating the principles of this Society, and advancing the completion of its object?

22nd. Are the present distresses of the country attributable to redundant population?

29th. Lecture on the impracticability of attaining to National Prosperity, under the present system of Political Economy.

NOTICE.

We are obliged through want of room to postpone the Answer to the "Impracticability of the Co-operative System:" as well as "Actual Results of the Antichristian and Antisocial System of Individual Property;" and "Inventions and Improvements."

THE
CO-OPERATIVE MAGAZINE,
AND
MONTHLY HERALD.

No. V.

MAY, 1827.

VOL. II.

MILL AND MALTHUS SELF-REFUTED.

To the Editor of the Co-operative Magazine.

“And then came Hymen! Bless thine eyes, sweet divinity, how I love thee! — When wilt thou with a spark from thy golden torch, set fire to Political Economy, and reduce to ashes the relation which sexagenarians have created between population and the means of subsistence?”—*Six Months in the West Indies.*

“If,” observes an eloquent writer, “we love our fellow-creatures, we can scarcely be indisposed to inquire into their future destiny, nor backward to hail with gladness, intimations of brighter scenes than have occupied the past, and occupy the present of their history.” The hope and expectation of progressive improvement in the condition of mankind has indeed been generally entertained and avowed by the most distinguished philosophers and religionists; but it must be confessed that these hopes and expectations received a severe check from the unhappy issue of certain experiments which, towards the close of the last century, were tried at the instigation of theoretical politicians in a neighbouring state. Hence has arisen not only a feeling of aversion to any scheme which involves the stability of long established institutions, but the heartless notion, that the human

race is doomed to alternations of good and evil. "Man, (according to these reasoners,) is prompted for some time to advance with success : but after that, in the very act of pursuing further improvement, he necessarily plunges beyond the compass of his powers, and has his petty career to begin afresh ; always pursuing what is beautiful, always frustrated in his object, always involved in calamities, by the very means he employs to escape them."

The author of the celebrated Essay on Population, perhaps without intending it, has contributed more than almost any other political œconomist of modern times, to the substitution of the gloomy system above described, for that which formerly prevailed. "The appearances in all human societies," says Mr. Malthus, "particularly in all those which are the furthest advanced in civilization and improvement, will ever be such as to inspire superficial observers with a belief, that a prodigious change for the better might be effected by the introduction of a system of equality and of common property. They see abundance in some quarters, and want in others ; and the natural and obvious remedy seems to be, an equal division of the produce. They see a prodigious quantity of human exertion wasted upon trivial, useless, and sometimes pernicious objects, which might either be wholly saved or more effectively employed. They see invention after invention in machinery brought forward, which is seemingly calculated in the most marked manner to abate the sum of human toil. Yet with these apparent means of giving plenty, leisure and happiness to all, they still see the labours of the great mass of society undiminished, and their condition, if not deteriorated, in no very striking and palpable manner improved.

"Under these circumstances, it cannot be a matter of wonder, that proposals for systems of equality should be continually reviving. After periods when the subject has undergone thorough discussion, or when some great experiment in improvement has failed, it is likely that the question should lie dormant for a time, and that the opinions of the advocates of equality should be ranked among those errors which had passed away to be heard of no more. But it is probable, that if the world were to last for any number of thousand of years, systems of equality would be among those errors, which, like the tunes of a barrel organ, to use the illustration of Dugald Stewart, will never cease to return at certain intervals."

The foregoing observations, it is true, are not here applied to *all*

schemes for the improvement of society: they are primarily leveled at those which have for their object an equal division of the produce of labour. But with reference to an opinion expressed by M. Condorcet, that the period at which a society enjoying an equal share of the produce of their joint labour would be stinted for provisions is so distant as not to merit consideration, Mr. Malthus affirms, that the period has already arrived, and that this *constantly subsisting* cause of periodical misery has existed in most countries ever since we have had any histories of mankind, and continues to exist at the present moment. Again, when adverting to Mr. Godwin's anticipations of a happy state of society, to be brought about by reason and conviction, not by force,—Mr. Malthus observes, “that the substitution of benevolence as the master-spring and moving principle of society, instead of self-love, appears, *at first sight*! to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. It is impossible to contemplate the whole of this fair fabric without emotions of delight and admiration, accompanied with an ardent longing for the period of its accomplishment. But alas! that moment can never arrive. The whole is little better than a dream;—a phantom of the imagination.”—He proceeds to show that the principle of population would very speedily deform this fair picture of social enjoyment; and then concludes as follows: “And thus it appears, that a society constituted according to the most beautiful form that imagination can conceive, with *benevolence* for its moving principle instead of self-love, and with every evil disposition in *all its members* corrected by *reason*, not force, would, from the *inevitable* laws of nature, and not from any fault in human institutions, degenerate in a very short period, into a society constructed upon a plan not essentially different from that which prevails in every known state at present; a society divided into a class of proprietors and a class of labourers, and with *self-love* for the main spring of the great machine.”

It must be again admitted that Mr. Malthus's argument has reference to a state of equality.—But nevertheless the terms of his proposition do in fact pronounce a fatal termination to whatever improvements might be effected in the structure of society by other schemes: for, if the inevitable laws of nature, whereof he speaks, would, to a certainty, destroy an order of things brought about by benevolence and reason regulating the conduct of *all* its members; what ground have we to hope for a better fate in any case that can

be supposed? After perusing a sentence so appalling, the reader could scarcely expect that Mr. Malthus should himself come forward with a project for bettering the condition of the people of this country, where, as he tells us, self-love is the main spring of the great machine. His scheme (stating it in the most favourable terms) is to substitute the check of moral restraint, for that of vice, and its constant follower, misery.—But how can this be effected, unless the vicious be rendered virtuous; in other words, benevolent and reasonable? And when they are thus transformed, what security have we for the permanence of the change, after being told that a community actuated by the dictates of benevolence and reason could not maintain their ground against certain irresistible laws of nature, but would be speedily reduced from the enjoyment of abundance, to the suffering of want; and those bosoms which were so lately the abodes of love and peace, be converted into the nurseries of every hateful passion? or, to use his own more forcible words, “Benevolence had established her reign in all hearts. And yet, in so short a period as fifty years, violence, oppression, falsehood, misery, every hateful vice and every form of distress which degrade and sadden the present state of society, seem to have been generated by the most imperious circumstances;—by laws inherent in the nature of man, and *absolutely independent of all human regulations.*”

Occasion will arise, in the sequel, to enter more particularly into the merits of the Essay on the Principle of Population. Enough has been said to show, that the author deserves to be classed among those writers whose doctrines have tended to induce the belief, that the human race is doomed for ever to alternations of good and evil; and to destroy the hope of a progressive advance.

There would have been less need to refer so pointedly to the work above alluded to, if the doctrines of Mr. Malthus had not gained so many proselytes. But in point of fact his system has been adopted, not only by the most distinguished of our political economists, but by the editors of those periodical publications which have the most extensive circulation, and the most powerful influence upon public opinion; namely, the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Westminster Reviews*, which, although widely opposed to each other upon many principles of policy, are agreed in stating the principle of population as opposing a very strong if not an insuperable obstacle to the attain-

ment of any considerable addition of happiness and security by the working classes, who constitute in this, as in all civilized countries, the great bulk of the community.

Among the writers of modern times upon, what has been prematurely called, the *science* of Political Œconomy, Mr. Mill holds a high rank. This gentleman had acquired much fame by his elaborate History of British India,—a work, which unquestionably displays, not only the marks of indefatigable industry, but uncommon powers of reasoning ; and in the course of which it is very evident that his attention had been devoted to inquiries into the causes of national wealth and prosperity. He has, since the publication of his History, come forward as a teacher of the science of Political Œconomy, and with, doubtless, the most laudable intentions, has put forth an elementary work—a sort of grammar,—which is to induct the rising generation of statesmen into the first principles of this science ; and which, of course, professes to avoid debateable ground, and merely to expound those fundamental doctrines respecting which the first authorities are supposed to be agreed. In treating of *Wages* we have the following observations.

“Universally we may affirm, other things remaining the same, that if the ratio which capital and population bear to one another remains the same, wages will remain the same ; if the ratio which capital bears to population increases, wages will rise ; if the ratio which population bears to capital increases, wages will fall.

“From this law, clearly understood, it is easy to trace the circumstances, which, in any country, determine the condition of the great body of the people. If that condition is easy and comfortable, all that is necessary to keep it so, is, to make capital increase as fast as population ; or, on the other hand, to prevent population from increasing faster than capital. If that condition is not easy and comfortable, it can only be made so by one of two methods ; either by quickening the rate at which capital increases, or retarding the rate at which population increases ; augmenting, in short, the ratio which the means of employing the people bear to the number of people.”

To this statement, perhaps, something might be objected. For instance, we might suppose a case in which the capitalists had accumulated immense wealth,—more than they knew how to consume,—and that the superfluity, if distributed among the working classes, would suffice to better their condition, even although the ratio which

capital and population bore to one another, should remain the same. But as there is nothing, thus far, in the doctrine laid down by our author, which necessarily implies a doubt as to the power of society to advance, indefinitely, in the career of improvement, it is not worth while to begin the controversy at this point. He proceeds to say :

“ If it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people. If, on the other hand, it were the natural tendency of population to increase faster than capital, the difficulty would be very great.”

The last of these hypotheses is that which Mr. Mill labours to establish ; and although he does not absolutely deny the possibility of checking the disproportionate increase of population by means of moral restraint, and of thus diminishing the sum of misery which exists in this and other countries, from the inability of vast numbers of individuals to obtain a sufficient quantity of the necessaries of life, he nevertheless says enough to convince his reader, that, like his master, Mr. Malthus, his expectation of such a state of things is far from cheering.

The avowed object of Mr. Mill's work, is, “ to ascertain merely the laws according to which *are* regulated the production and consumption of those commodities which the intervention of human labour is necessary to procure.” He does not undertake to inform us how these matters *ought to be* regulated ; but limits himself to the following inquiries :—“ First, what are the laws which regulate the production of commodities ?—Secondly, what are the laws according to which the commodities produced by the labour of the community are distributed ?—Thirdly, what are the laws according to which commodities are exchanged for one another ?—Fourthly, what are the laws which regulate consumption ?” Upon each of these points he has offered many observations, and drawn many conclusions, which indicate extensive research, and logical precision. It must, however, be confessed, that the line of study which he and the rest of our modern political œconomists so strenuously recommend to statesmen, and to persons of liberal education, is very dry and uninviting, as compared with inquiries which have more *directly* for their object the best means of increasing the happiness of mankind.

Mr. Mill's first proposition, is, that “ Political Œconomy is to the state, what domestic is to the family.” He observes, that “ Domestic

Œconomy has two grand objects ; the consumption and supply of the family. The consumption being a quantity always indefinite, (for there is no end to the desire of enjoyment,) the grand concern is, to increase supply." "The art of him who manages a family consists in regulating the supply and consumption of those things which cannot be obtained but with cost ; in other words, with human labour,—the original purchase-money which is given for every thing." But the domestic management above alluded to, is not that of the father of a family, who, in all his arrangements, studies to promote the happiness of his children and household ; it is more properly that of the manager of a large manufacturing establishment, whose care is limited to the getting his work done at the lowest rate of wages, to buying as cheap and selling as dear as practicable, and realizing as large an amount of profit as possible, for the proprietors of the concern. It is assumed, throughout, as a universal principle of human nature, that men will always act with a view to the acquisition of wealth ; of money, or of that which is convertible into money ; that every thing is sacrificed to this object ; that it constitutes the *summum bonum* of every member of the community. Such being the basis upon which the science of Political Œconomy is avowedly founded, it would indeed be unreasonable to look to an elementary work like that of Mr. Mill, for moral lessons ; for any cautions against the indulgence of an inordinate love of riches ; for any incentives to benevolence ; or for speculations upon the increase of social happiness : his only concern is with those matters which may be represented by pounds, shillings, and pence. It would therefore be unfair to look into such books as "The Elements of Political Economy" for anything except that which is comprehended in the term money-making. It would, however, be but fair in this class of writers, to avow more distinctly, that they profess only to teach how wealth may be increased ; and to keep quite clear of the question, whether or not it be practicable to create this grand desideratum in a quantity sufficient for the comfortable subsistence of the whole of society. This, surely, is a moral question, if any question can be so designated. But Mr. Mill cannot refrain from working up the principle of population (decidedly a moral principle) in his calculations. In the seventh section of his fourth chapter, we have the following consolatory moral observation : "If wages are already at the lowest point to which they can be re-

duced ; that is, just sufficient to keep up the number of labourers, and no more, (the state of wages which seems to have been contemplated by Mr. Ricardo, throughout his disquisitions on Political Economy, and which the tendency of population to increase faster than capital, *undoubtedly leads us to regard as the NATURAL STATE* ;) no tax can fall upon the labourer ; and if any tax is imposed upon wages, it is easy to trace in what way it must produce a corresponding rise of wages. If wages are as low as is consistent with the preservation of the number of labourers, take anything away from those wages, and the number of labourers must be reduced. The reduction of the number of labourers must be followed by a rise of wages, and this process must continue till wages rise sufficiently high to be consistent with the preservation of the number of labourers ; in other words, just as high as they were before the tax was imposed." In plain English, the *natural* state of things is, that in which the labourer receives just so much as will suffice to keep him and his children in working condition, and from which, if any thing be deducted, they must starve. Whatever is unnatural, must necessarily be eventually overcome by the laws of nature ; and we are taught to believe, that these laws will for ever frustrate all our endeavours to raise the condition of the working classes, above that state in which no deduction can be made from their wages, without endangering their lives. And since, as before observed, the working classes, in all civilized countries, constitute the great majority of mankind, we are thus forbidden to hope or expect any brighter scenes than have occupied the past, and occupy the present of their history. But although Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo, the highest authorities which can be quoted on questions of Political Economy, (one of whom has published a Grammar, and the other instituted a Lecture for the instruction of statesmen) regard as the natural state of the working classes that which has been above described, they nevertheless contemplate a better fate for the class of society to which they respectively belong ; for although, according to them, the workmen cannot contend successfully against the principle of population, the capitalist is an overmatch for that principle. Mr. Mill tells us, that the business of those whose object it is to ascertain the means of raising human happiness to the greatest height, is, to consider what is that class of men by whom the greatest happiness is enjoyed. " It will not, probably, be disputed (he observes), that they who are raised above solicitude for the means of subsistence

and respectability, without being exposed to the vices and follies of great riches, the men of middling fortunes ; in short, the men to whom society is generally indebted for its greatest improvements, are the men who, having their time at their own disposal, freed from the necessity of manual labour, subject to no man's authority, and engaged in the most delightful occupations,—obtain, as a class, the greatest sum of human enjoyment." Undoubtedly Mr. Mill here describes a very desirable condition of life ; probably it is that which he himself enjoys ; and he benevolently wishes that the number should be increased of those who may obtain the same privileges. As, however, he elsewhere tells us, that the natural state of the working classes is to have nothing beyond bare necessities, he thereby precludes the hope that the class which he regards as the elect of society, can be recruited from the lower ranks ;—the increase of its number must therefore be effected by procreation in that class ; but, unless these favoured children of nature are exempted from the law of population, it is evident that they must inevitably share the fate of the working classes : for we are repeatedly reminded that it is the tendency of population to increase faster than capital.

Mr. Mill, however, it must be admitted, does furnish us with a solution of the problem. He tells us, that "there are two sets of men; one in whom the reasoning power is strong, and who are able to resist a present pleasure for a greater one hereafter ; another in whom it is weak, and who can seldom resist the charm of immediate enjoyment." Hence then it follows, that if we can but ascertain the means of strengthening the reasoning powers of men, we may fairly calculate upon increasing their happiness. The point of wisdom, therefore, on the admission even of an orthodox political œconomist, consists, not in urging men to grasp at immediate enjoyment,—not in teaching them to think of nothing but how they may gain the highest amount of pecuniary profit ; but in persuading them to regulate their conduct upon an enlarged view of human affairs in all their various bearings, remote as well as immediate ; in short, in bringing them "to resist a present pleasure for a greater one hereafter."—Most assuredly, this is the great secret of human happiness ; and whoever shall attempt to improve the condition of any class of the community (and every class is susceptible of improvement) upon any other principle than that of controlling the passions and appetites, must reap disappointment. By thus admitting that there

does exist a set of men in whom the reasoning power is strong, and who are able to resist a present pleasure for a greater one hereafter, Mr. Mill has virtually annulled that law of nature which forces population to increase faster than capital ; unless indeed he is prepared to prove the impossibility, by any means, of bringing the whole of a community under the influence of virtuous and religious principles. In order to compass an end so desirable, it is undoubtedly necessary, not only to inculcate upon the working classes the obligations of prudence, of honesty, and of diligence ; but also to awaken the landlord, and the capitalist, and all who are in authority and power, to a sense of the duty which they owe to the working classes, by whose labours all that is termed wealth is created. If the workman is to be restrained from taking a wife before he has insured the means of supporting a family, the master must also be restrained from grasping at high profits, by depressing the wages of his labourers. It is very pleasant to meet in such a book as *The Elements of Political Economy* (where, as we have seen, the natural state of things is said to be that in which wages are just sufficient to keep up the number of labourers and no more) with the following passage : "It may be questioned how far the inference is warranted, that high wages tend to diminish industry. Experience seems to be largely on the opposite side. Where wages are excessively low, as in Ireland, there is no industry ; where excessively high, as in the American United States, there is the greatest."

Notwithstanding the discouraging tendency of some of the most prominent propositions advanced by Mr. Mill, in his section on *Wages*, the speculator upon human improvement will find, in those sentences which have been extracted from other parts of the book, sufficient ground whereon to build a rational scheme of human happiness.

Mr. Malthus himself, who has the credit of having brought us acquainted with the principle of population, in a passage already quoted, but which will bear repetition, tells us (when treating of *Schemes of Equality*) "that a society constituted according to the most beautiful form that imagination can conceive, with benevolence for its moving principle instead of self-love, and with every evil disposition, in all its members, corrected by reason, not force, would, from the inevitable laws of nature, and not from any fault in human institutions, degenerate in a very short period into a society constructed

upon a plan not essentially different from that which prevails in every known state at present ;—a society divided into a class of proprietors and a class of labourers, and with self-love for the main spring of the great machine.

But in a subsequent part of his celebrated Essay, he assures us, that these same inevitable laws of nature are not inevitable, but have been, are, and may be avoided. The following are his words : “Thus then it appears, that we have under our control a great power, capable in a short time of peopling a desert waste, but also capable, under other circumstances, of being confined within any, the narrowest possible limits, by human energy and virtue, at the expense of a comparatively small amount of evil.” It is rather curious that among Mr. Malthus’s opponents, no one should have adduced the foregoing passage to prove that he himself had destroyed the very principle upon which his theory rests ; which is, that in spite of human institutions,—by the force of the inevitable laws of nature (i. e. of human nature),—population has a tendency to increase in a geometrical ratio, while the means of subsistence can only be increased in an arithmetical ratio ; and yet he assures us that these laws are capable of being controlled by human energy and virtue. This last-mentioned proposition, be it remembered, is not stated as though it had slipped from his pen in the hurry of composition, and were the reminiscence of some Utopian speculation of which he is now ashamed ;—No. It is gravely and advisedly propounded, towards the end of his Essay, after an elaborate survey of the state of society in different ages and countries.

The result of the foregoing examination of the doctrines of our great modern political œconomists regarding population, is, that it does not *necessarily* outrun the means of subsistence ; that it is not only capable of being restrained, but, by certain classes, actually is restrained, within such limits as admit of the free enjoyment of the comforts and conveniences of life.

Thus then after all, we are left at liberty, like our forefathers, to expatiate in the fields of speculation, with no other check upon our schemes of improvement, than one, to which all wise and good men must ever willingly submit ; namely, that our schemes be calculated, according to Mr. Malthus, to strengthen human energy and virtue ; or according to Mr. Mill, to increase the number of that class of men by whom the greatest happiness is enjoyed, by cultivating the reason-

ing powers of men so as to enable them, when occasion requires, to resist a present pleasure for a greater one hereafter. "It seems to be a strange absurdity (says Mr. Godwin) to hear men assert, that the attractions of sensual pleasure are irresistible, in contradiction to the multiplied experience of all ages and countries. Are all good stories of our nature false? Did no man ever resist temptation? On the contrary, have not all the considerations which have power over our hopes, our fears, or our weaknesses, been in competition with a firm and manly virtue, employed in vain? But what has been done may be done again. What has been done by individuals, cannot be impossible, in a widely different state of society, to be done by the whole species."

Having, for the present at least, satisfactorily disposed of the political economists, it is in the next place expedient to deal with some other descriptions of objectors. Of these, the most obstinate and numerous are the men who, whenever we start the idea of general improvement in the condition of mankind, check us, *in limine*, by insisting upon the innate depravity of human nature. Such notions are very commonly expressed both by those who make profession of religion, and by men of the world. It is not surprising that those who are conscious of being actuated by selfish motives, who so long as they can gain their own ends, care little how it fares with their neighbours, should judge of others by themselves: there is, however, less excuse for those men who, while they are in very good conceit with themselves, are yet unwilling to allow that the same degree of excellence is at all likely to be attained on an extensive scale. Very frequently, indeed, this low opinion of human nature arises from disappointments in life; from the treachery of friends; the ingratitude of those upon whom benefits have been conferred,—and such like causes. But there is a class, and a large class too, of religionists, who entertain very desponding notions of the fate of the world: their opinions are founded upon a few texts of Scripture, which appear to have reference to particular times and special circumstances. Admitting, however, the universality of their application, still the persons alluded to, do not deny that the grace of God is of sufficient power to change the heart, however depraved; and although they declare, that the work of conversion is effected by a special act of divine interposition, they nevertheless acknowledge, that in carrying on this work, the Almighty is pleased to employ human agency.

To do them justice,—they are most active and zealous in their endeavours to propagate religion, both by preaching, and by the circulation of the Scriptures ; and they are also strenuous advocates for the education of the people, and for the extension of charitable institutions. This being the case, and so long as there is an agreement as to the duty of employing all possible means to do good to the bodies and souls of our fellow-creatures, it is of little consequence what opinion is entertained as to the final issue of all these efforts ; except indeed in so far as respects the influence which hopes and expectations more or less vivid produce upon our own hearts and minds. In a subsequent part of this Essay, there will probably be occasion to inquire into the doctrine of Scripture, regarding the nature and extent of the happiness which is reserved for man as an inhabitant of the earth. For the purpose of these preliminary observations, enough has been said to show, that those who aim at introducing the most perfect state of society, are entitled to claim the active co-operation even of that sect of Christians which insists most strongly upon the innate depravity of human nature, since it appears that these very persons are not less disposed than others to do all in their power to remove poverty, ignorance and vice from the world.

Indeed, the despondency alluded to, as arising from the tenets of our Calvinistic brethren, (for it was to that class of religionists that the above remark was more especially applied,) is happily giving place to better feelings : thanks to an opinion, whether well or ill founded, that the period is near at hand when the predictions of Scripture respecting the wide diffusion of divine knowledge will be accomplished. The following paragraph extracted from the writings of an eminent Calvinistic minister, is of a very cheerful complexion.

“The efforts of the wise and good, and of all those whose minds are susceptible of the love of God and of man, in every country, should be directed towards diminishing the cause of that misery which is most prevalent and most deplorable of all,—that arising from dereliction of duty, and springing out of *the natural depravity of the human heart*. This is the great work of the philanthropist in every nation under heaven. The attention of all should be directed to those measures which tend to prevent or diminish crime : and if the virtuous part of the community knew their powers when acting upon a well organized plan ; if they could but be made aware of the effect of combining their efforts, and directing them towards this most im-

portant object, they would see the possibility of their becoming the honoured instruments of changing the moral character of a people in the course of a very few years."

We have, therefore, the authority of *Mr. Malthus* for affirming, that the obstruction to improvement arising from the principle of population, may be surmounted by human energy and virtue, at the expense of a comparatively small amount of evil;—of *Mr. Mill*, for stating, that there is a class of men whose reasoning powers enable them to resist a present pleasure for a greater one hereafter;—and of the aforesaid *Calvinist divine*, for believing that, notwithstanding the natural depravity of the human heart, the well-combined efforts of the virtuous part of the community, if directed to the prevention and diminution of crime, would suffice to change the moral character of a people in the course of a very few years.

Surely these admissions are quite as much as any Utopian speculatist could desire as a basis on which to construct his scheme of social enjoyment.

PHILADELPHUS.

THE FUTURE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

(Continued from page 176.)

NOTWITHSTANDING these two important discoveries; 1st, That all men seek their own happiness; and 2nd, That all men make use of the wrong means, and therefore never find it,—he was yet desirous of ascertaining the reason why man, who naturally pursued his own welfare, did not equally by nature employ the proper methods of obtaining it; and this led him into an inquiry into the origin of man and society. The result of his researches into these interesting speculations were as important as they were pleasing, and rather tended to confirm his hopes, as to the future, than to damp them. He found that man born into the world completely ignorant of everything, with no forecast of wisdom, no discriminating principle of choice within his own mind, necessarily became what the surrounding circumstances of nature made him. Acting agreeably to the impulses of his being, uninfluenced by experience which he could not possess, and undirected in his preference of good by a knowledge of the properties of things and the consequences of

action, with no instinct to guide him as to particular choosings, and no guardian spirit to save him from misfortune,—he necessarily chose that which appeared to him best, and he thus—through imperfection, not fault—fell into error ; whence evil sprung into existence. The new circumstances which were thus created descended to his posterity, who, as being equally imperfect, became equally erroneous ; until at last after a variety of modifications and a multiplicity of changes, originating in the different views of mankind as to their real or supposed well-being, the present condition of the human race became what it now is. Convinced *à priori* that what proceeds from ignorance cannot be science, and that utility and beauty of design cannot be generated by error, our philosopher beheld the truth of his position borne out and demonstrated by the history of man. This view of the origin of society, its modifications and its progress, at one glance exhibited to him the cause of man's present and past erroneousness, in the application of means for the obtainment of happiness ; it showed to him, moreover, the remedy for all the evils by which human nature is afflicted. Perceiving that in every country of the world the characters of men did in a great degree resemble their predecessors ; and discovering too that the particular dispositions, opinions and sentiments, which individuals possessed, in a very considerable degree originated from the circumstances of whatever kind they might be, whether of birth or of education, by which such individuals were surrounded ; and analysing the whole process of moral causation, of thinking and willing and acting, he came to the highly important conclusion,—“that the character of man is formed for him and not by him ;” and this conclusion filled him with joy.—Proceeding in his speculations, he ascertained that the various powers of action which man possesses, and by which apparently all the evil in society is produced, were necessary to his very existence, and that to their improper direction alone was attributable their evil effects ; and on looking around him, he found that the very constitution of society itself impelled man to this erroneous application of his energies ; that from his birth he is doomed by uncontrollable agencies thus to misuse his powers ; and that the reformation necessary to render his well-being certain, and the application of his faculties available to that end, must be external. With the poet he exclaimed :—

“This is no unconnected misery,
 Nor stands uncaused and irretrievable
 Man’s evil nature—that apology
 Which kings who rule and cowards who crouch, set up
 For their unnumber’d crimes,—sheds not the blood
 Which desolates the discord-wasted land.

..... Let the axe
 Strike at the root ; the poison-tree will fall ;
 And where its venom’d exhalations spread
 Ruin and death and woe,—
 A garden shall arise, in loveliness
 Surpassing fabled Eden.”

Thus crowned with success in all his inquiries into the origin and progress of moral depravity, a more delightful task now presented itself to his mind—the work of moral regeneration: and he determined henceforward to direct all his energies to the improvement of the human race, and to endeavour to realize that condition of mankind which existed ideally in his own mind. A change so extraordinary in the state of man must, he was fully aware, be the work of time, and required the operation of means at once vast and majestic. Energy, the most full exertion of mental power must be employed, and constantly too, in its production. But he despaired not, and prepared a scheme of a New Social System, of such an arrangement of circumstances as should develop the powers of man in a manner the most useful, and best calculated to produce the ultimatum of all human action,—viz. Happiness. There were three or four reflections which he had made when seeking for the cause of human misery, which he found eminently useful to him in the fulfilment of his scheme; and these were—1st. That all men do naturally seek their own happiness. 2nd. That in consequence of not using proper means, men were prevented obtaining that which naturally they sought. 3rd. That the cause of their not using proper means, was their ignorance of what was really proper and what improper: and 4th. That man sought his own welfare, regardless of the welfare of his fellows. Now the clear view which he thus obtained of the causes of error, evil and misery, and their universal operation, naturally suggested to him the remedy for all the depravities of mankind. Society, as it ever has been, he perceived to be the work of no foresight: plan or design are undiscoverable among

its elements ; it has sprung up from circumstances arising out of error, and is the result of ignorance. The remedy then must be,—scientific arrangement in the Social System, adaptation of means to ends, regulation of causes, and proper distribution of circumstances, so that nothing can be produced but what is intended. Inasmuch then as ignorance has been the cause of error, ignorance must be removed ; and as error has been the fertile cause of misery and evil, error must be removed ; since the causes of man's seeking his own welfare, regardless of the welfare of all, and therefore not obtaining it, have been the circumstances which surround him,—his education &c. ; these circumstances must be removed, and others placed in their stead, which shall in their operation on the human being lead him, in seeking his own welfare, to aid in the production of the welfare and happiness of others. The circumstances which in present society operate so unfavourably to the well-being of man, our philosopher discovered to be ; 1st. Individual possession of the ultimate means of subsistence ; 2nd. Inequality of condition ; 3rd. Superabundance of unnecessary wants ; 4th. The inculcation of erroneous principles of conduct into the young mind ; and 5th. Ignorance of nature.

He found, that in consequence of the distinctions among men, and of the power which the rich possessed of compelling the poor to work for them, that many wants at once unnecessary, useless and mischievous, were engendered ; wants whose satisfaction yield misery and disease to their possessors, increase the quantity of evil in the world, and entail on posterity an intolerable curse. He found, that in consequence of the young mind being taught certain principles of duty and conduct, arising out of the mischievous state of things ; such as, that wealth leads to honour ; that poverty is reprehensible ; that the useful occupations of man are contemptible, and the useless honourable ; that man forms his own character ; and many other equally erroneous maxims ;—that owing to this mode of tuition, man was rendered from his birth the enemy of man, and the seeds of individual selfishness and private welfare were engendered and seemingly perpetuated. And lastly, he found that in consequence of man's ignorance of nature ; of the laws which regulate his own being, the operations of his mind and his body ;—man has hitherto been unable to free himself from those diseases of body as well as of mind, which the erroneousness of the systems of society which

have ever existed, has engendered and produced. From a review of all these things, it is clear that the New System of Society, differing as it does in nearly every particular from all hitherto existing systems, must be the work of consummate art, the result of extraordinary genius, and erected with the most scientific precision. It may be compared to the operations of Nature, as being the effect of wisdom and plan ; and having reference to an end in its employment of means, it is indeed a fabric at once beautiful, magnificent, and regular.

What then in all its principles, peculiarities and modes of action, is that New Social System which our philosopher has planned, and which is to bring about the perfection of man?—Let one of its most warm advocates unfold it to view.

The end to be obtained is the possession of the greatest possible quantity of happiness by all the members of the great family of mankind. The impossibility of obtaining this end within any definite period of time, ought not to discourage the philanthropist from exerting himself to render as many happy as it lies within his power to make so :—and this reflection leads to one of the means for obtaining the grand end, viz. the division of the inhabitants of any nation into communities or branches of the great family of mankind. Let, then, from one to ten thousand individuals unite into one community, possessing a quantity of land sufficient to supply their wants and the wants of two or three succeeding generations. Let the land be the common property of all the members : let every member have an equal claim with every other member to the productions, whether of the land or of manufacture, of the community : let the children be educated according to the principles of the System, the principles of mutual interests ; and let the government of the community be the simple dictates of reason. Model one society on this plan, and thousands will spring from it, until eventually the whole earth is covered with these realms of social peace and brotherhood.

The principles of the New System are the laws of physical and moral nature, acting agreeably to a certain rule : and accordingly as this rule coincides with, or differs from the true law of human happiness, so will its result be or be not the one sought. Now the result sought is the happiness of all : the laws of physical and moral nature have not hitherto produced the end wished for ; because either they have been exercised, as regards man, without any

rule, or according to an erroneous one, as is perceivable in making happiness depend on individual exertion, regardless of social relations. The rule then according to which these two descriptions of laws must be made to act is the following, to make those actions which shall tend to individual happiness, tend equally to the happiness of all, and *vice versâ*. The New System then merely directs the powers of man, of nature, and of wisdom, to the attainment of human happiness ; it adapts the means of universal well-being, and regulates, according to the actual powers of agency which they possess, the various faculties of the mind and the body, so that none shall be misused.

Convinced of the excellence of his system, our philosopher is strenuous in his exertions for its success ; but alas ! here again is thwarted. Constituted as society at present is, there are so many obstacles to its success, that myriads of ages may pass before it is universally in operation. The philosophic character, however, which he has ever borne, does not forsake him now ; and he feels anxious to wield the very evils of society to his use, to mould the very miseries of life to his purpose. Perceiving that man is induced to change his situation in life, whatever it may be, by one of two motives only,—either conviction of the preferableness of the other situation for which he leaves his first, or from so great and intense a misery that he can bear it no longer,—the following modes of precedence he would adopt : First, by all possible means to raise in the minds of men an opinion of the possibility of a better condition of human society than that now in existence ; to expose to their view a new system, which shall with the most precise certainty procure every possible happiness for every human being ; to convince them of the truth, utility and excellence of the New System ; and to show to them in all its hideous reality the present horrible institutions of society :—by all these means to produce a preference of the New to the Old System,—a preference arising from conviction. And Secondly, since the torrent of misery which now nearly overwhelms society, cannot be stopped but by the drying up of the spring whence it flows,—to hasten the period when the misery of man shall be cured by its own intenseness, and men will be forced to rise from that point of misery lower than which they cannot go ; when the minds of the vast majority of the people, rendered sensitive by the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, will become

so utterly wretched by the contemplation of their present situation, compared with those who are really enjoying life in villages of mutual co-operation,—that, unable to bear longer their present state, they will rush into Communities prepared for them. The former means the friends of co-operation must to their utmost employ, and must moreover prepare for that crisis which sooner or later must come; and the latter, the government, unwillingly enough, is making use of. Let us then diffuse the knowledge of the principles of the New System of Society as extensively as possible; let us prepare a refuge for the destitute, a house of comfort for the wretched of the land.

The point of mental misery once obtained, lower than which man cannot go; that state of uneasiness once brought about, more than which man cannot bear;—then have men worked out as it were their own salvation; and Co-operation, like a guardian angel, offers her broad arms to save them from destruction. Let it not be supposed that bodily pain and suffering is once advocated by our benevolent philosopher: he is too fully aware of the devastating and depressing influence of such wretchedness, to wish even for its present continuance, much less increase: it is mental misery, which he would wield as an instrument whereby to bring about the well-being of the human race; he would exhibit to their imaginations such glowing pictures of social happiness, as shall make them hate their present state; show to them abodes of peace and comfort, a comparison with which would shrink their present dwelling-house of misery into hovels of wretchedness. And since he cannot stop the progress of poverty, since competition will (fostered as it is by the powerful of the land) hurl down to its very base the ill-built fabric of society, (do what he may to prevent it,)—is it wrong, is it unwise in him to wish for the fulfilment of an event which must necessarily remodel the whole superstructure of the Social System?

Let us contemplate the period when the human race shall be free from the contaminating influence of error. Trained up from their earliest infancy to the practice of virtue; their mental energies called forth to the contemplation of nature and of man; their bodily powers exercised to their full extent,—man and woman grow up in the full possession of health and happiness. Their wants brought down to the level of their usefulness, enjoyment ceases to give birth to pain, disease and misery; and the pleasures of the appetite, regu-

lated by the mental powers, breed not the passions of inebriety and repletion. Science and her handmaidens the Arts have given to them a power over the elements of nature, whereby they may mould them to their purposes. Unlike its effect in the present state of society, Machinery is to them one of the greatest of blessings; for as it reduces the labour of all, so it adds to the productive powers of all, and enables men to live almost without the necessity of labour. And who dare assign a limit to the powers of machinery! With the experience of past ages, what may we not predict for the future? with the knowledge of the œconomy of nature, which every day will render more and more apparent, what may not the inventive faculties of man give birth to? And when, moreover, it is remembered that it will be the interest of all to bring to the greatest possible pitch of improvement every species of machinery, shall we be erroneous in predicting that the labour of man will be reduced to a mere exercise of health?

Thus perfected in bodily and in mental powers, how different the man of those happy times, to man as we find him now. Picture to yourselves one such society,—its every inmate happy and at peace:—picture to yourselves the earth covered with such societies; then may we exclaim—

“O happy earth—reality of heaven—
Of purest spirits thou pure dwelling-place,
Where care and sorrow, impotence and crime,
Languor, disease and ignorance dare not come!”

Let not this truly enchanting picture of human society be treated as the mere reverie of an over-excited imagination, or the dream of an enthusiastic Utopian,—as it appears to those who comprehend it not. Vast and magnificent as it really is, it is equally possible; for it is a truth founded on the laws of human nature, it is a deduction from premises universally true; and like all other merely apparent impossibilities, it requires but the energy of mind to realize it.

Friends of the human race, despair not! However slow the progress of justice, however circumscribed the prevalence of truth, however thwarted the advancement of equality,—despair not! for that glorious period, when truth and justice and equality shall triumph, must arrive. The eyes of men are opening, and the rays of truth will soon illuminate their former darkness. The mind of man is expanding, and the realities of things will soon be known to

him. Yes, slow as is the progress, difficult as is the ascent, man must reach the "haven of his tranquillity." Therefore, despair not! but persevere, O ye to whom the state of Society just pictured to you is dear—to whom exertion in the cause of humanity is the most exquisite source of delights; persevere in your endeavours, gain firmness by defeat, persevere, and despair not!

CHARLES R——.

NEW HARMONY.

To the Editor of the Co-operative Magazine.

Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1827.

HAVING observed in your Magazine, and in the New Harmony Gazette published at Mr. Owen's settlement in Indiana, mutual regrets at the non-receipt of each other's papers, I inclosed a few odd numbers which I had by me, of your Magazine, to the Editor of the Gazette; at the same time writing to him, and offering myself as the agent for the paper, and the medium of communication between you. In answer to which I received a letter from the editor of that paper, some extracts from which I think will be interesting to your readers. I therefore transcribe them.

"Sir,

New Harmony, 20th Nov. 1826.

"Yours of the 24th ult. is just received, together with two numbers of the Co-operative Magazine; the receipt of which was very gratifying to us, as we had not received any information regarding the views and operations of our friends of the London Society for some months. The last number we had previously received was No. 2; the succeeding numbers we have not seen, and we shall be obliged by your sending them to us.

"The Co-operative Magazine I consider a well-conducted and most valuable publication. I believe it will be the means of eliciting much talent, which has hitherto lain dormant for want of such a medium of communication with the public. We hope to receive through you the numbers of this interesting publication as they appear. I have obtained the following subscribers. * * * *

"We are proceeding progressively and quietly here. The difficulties incidental to a new colony, and to an (almost) frontier settle-

ment, are gradually disappearing ; those persons who came here with other motives than to support true principles, and to carry into practice a system of social co-operative arrangements, are leaving us one by one, and their places are instantly supplied by characters of a very superior stamp, whom the moral gratifications derived from friendly equality and mental liberty attract to our settlement.—Our houses are filled to overflowing; and we are frequently obliged to reject even promising applications, for the present, for want of room. Such a statement of facts will probably much surprise our friends in Great Britain, after all the unfounded and foolish reports that have been circulated relative to our proceedings.

I am, Sir, sincerely yours,
To Mr. John Mortimer,
Philadelphia.

R. DALE OWEN,
Ed. N. H. Gazette."

I would just add, that I have seen many other letters from respectable individuals who have joined one or other of the societies at New Harmony, (for there are several,) and that they all bear testimony to the progressive satisfaction and quiet which prevails there. It would be wonderful indeed if a number of persons hastily and promiscuously got together, each having formed habits of his own, with various religious prejudices, some of them strong as fate itself, of various tempers, views and expectations,—could by any philosophical or even magical influence be made at once to amalgamate and harmonize, and to act in perfect unison with the principles of a society, the very rudiments of which they had scarcely or but very imperfectly imbibed. Added to this, the unlimited freedom which was allowed to ignorant, illiterate and bigoted preachers to come into the society, and to attack, tooth-and-nail, every thing which seemed to clash with their interested views,—naturally enough at the outset staggered and alarmed many timid minds ; and actually induced some of those who joined the society with the best of motives, to believe that they were in the high road to perdition. All, or nearly all the reports to the prejudice of the societies at New Harmony may be traced to this source. On the authority of many of these *reverend* persons, (who have been named,) it has been asserted that the settlements at New Harmony were the scenes of debauchery and insubordination and confusion of every kind ; wives, it has been said, were unfaithful, and children disobedient ; daughters unchaste and sons dissolute. To such an extent have these reports been spread, that a speedy dissolution of every

co-operative plan ever formed has been confidently looked for ; and from this cause thousands, who at first were disposed to view the system at least with complacency, have turned away from it in disgust ; but to use a common quotation, " Truth is omnipotent, and will at length prevail." The temper with which the New Harmonites have met and repelled these charges, has already acquired for them advantages which must and will at length lead to a complete victory over the prejudices, and bigotry, and vices of the world.

I could extend this communication by various quotations from the letters of respectable persons who have joined the society from this city ; but it is unnecessary that any thing like a serious refutation should be attempted, of charges so monstrously gross and absurd ; nor should I have alluded to them, had I not thought it more than probable that they had reached your side of the Atlantic.

Hearing as I frequently do from New Harmony, I shall be happy at all times to communicate any intelligence which may help to further the cause in which you are engaged. I send by the present conveyance a packet containing some numbers of the New Harmony Gazette, of which I think you are hitherto destitute ; and in future I will take care you shall be supplied with the numbers in succession regularly.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c. J. M.

We gladly accept our kind Correspondents friendly offer, and vote that he is a useful member of co-operation, both for that and his information. We beg, however, to mention to him, that there are four numbers, the 10th, 12th, 14th, and 17th, of the packet he has sent us, missing.—ED.

CO-OPERATIVE PLAN OF M. FAIGUET, TREASURER OF FRANCE.

[Continued from page 160.]

Scheme of Association.

1. THE new association shall be bound by no vows ; they shall have full liberty to live in celibacy or marriage, without being subject to any monastic observances ; but above all, they shall not be retained against their inclination, and may always withdraw when they shall think fit for the good of their affairs. In a word, this society shall be a secular and free community, of which all the members shall exercise different professions, arts or trades, under the direction of a chief and his council ; and consequently they will only differ from other

laymen in a more regular conduct and a great love for the public good; they will observe those practices of religion which the church prescribes to all the faithful.

2. The new associates will apply themselves constantly to all sorts of occupations in science and art, in which they will always prefer what is necessary and convenient to what is merely ornamental or of pure curiosity. For instance; in science, all the branches of medicine and useful naturalogy; in the arts, the most common will be preferred, and even agriculture, if the situation be in the country: besides, nothing will be demanded from candidates as soon as they can contribute in some manner to the good of the community. Trades will be taught to the uninstructed; and, in short, every thing will be done to occupy even the least capable, provided they have a sociable disposition, and a spirit of moderation joined to a love of labour.

3. The distribution of proceeds shall be so arranged that the associates may be working for themselves in working for the establishment; I mean, that each associate shall have, for instance, a third, fourth, fifth, or other part of what he has produced, after all deductions made. Therefore the work of each shall be valued every month, and the surplus agreed on shall be paid, which will constitute a sort of fund, that each may augment in proportion to his labour and talent.—Each will furnish himself from this fund with wine, tobacco, and other arbitrary things; except on certain feast-days, which will be held occasionally, and on which the community will be at the cost of a decent repast. Moreover, as wine, coffee, snuff, &c. double the necessary expenses, and as frugality becomes indispensable in a community where there are so many women and children to feed, the members will be exhorted to condemn those vain delicacies which absorb the substance of families; and to induce them to it, an annual present will be made to those who have the courage to abstain.

4. Those who shall quit the society shall not only carry away their private fund, but also the money that they shall have put into the common stock, with the interest usual in commerce. On the death of an associate, the house shall inherit all his property *within* the society, even his private fund; but all that he possesses *without*, shall belong of right to his heirs.

5. Every associate after performing his noviciate shall be looked on as a member of the house, and shall be entitled to remain in that capacity as long as he commits no palpable or considerable fault

against religion, probity and good morals. But in such case the council assembled shall have the right of excluding a vicious subject, by a majority of three-fourths ; provided always, that restitution be made to him of all that he possessed in the house, as we have stated above.

6. The children of the associates shall be brought up in common, and on the plan of a Christian education ; I mean, they shall be accustomed early to frugality, to despise present pleasure when it draws after it great evils and vexations ; but above all, they shall be brought up in the spirit of fraternity, of union, of concord, and in the habitual exercise of the most useful arts and sciences : the whole with all the precautions, order and decency that should be observed between children of the two sexes.

7. The boys shall remain in the community till the age of seventeen years ; after which, if His Majesty pleases, the most robust shall be sent to the frontier towns to perform a military course of ten years. There they will be formed to the exercises of war, and besides be occupied in the several arts and trades that they shall have learnt in early youth ; and consequently will not be expensive to the king or the public in peace time : in war they will be campaigning, after learning their duty in garrisons. This military course shall entitle them to all rights of citizens ; so that after their ten years of service they may establish themselves in any secular or other community, free to exercise every where the different branches of trade and commerce.

8. The marriage of their young people shall be fixed at a suitable age for both sexes ; and the establishment of them will not be difficult, as all will have sufficient means for that : for besides the private fund of each, the community will furnish a reasonable dower to each child, consisting of money, clothes, and furniture : a dower proportioned to the means of the house, and equal for all ; excepting that it shall be at least double for those who perform the military service. After this kind of inheritance, the children will receive nothing from their parents but what those may choose to give out of their private fund : but not interfering with their right to inherit property out of the house.

Such, Mr. Editor, are the rules for a community proposed by M. Faiguët, treasurer of France, in the article which he wrote for the *Encyclopédie* arranged by Diderot. They do not approximate so

much as those of John Bellers, to the Co-operative arrangements which you contemplate ; but they are perhaps worth a place in your Magazine, considered as a storehouse of materials for the elements of Co-operation.

I am, Sir, &c.

March 23, 1827.

ADAM.

AUXILIARY FUND.

To the Editor of the Co-operative Magazine.

MR. EDITOR,

Pentonville, April 16, 1827.

IN the number before last of the Co-operative Magazine, you announced the receipt of the first donation towards the *Auxiliary Fund* ; and the announcement has called forth very proper inquiries from a correspondent who subscribes himself, M. This gentleman is desirous of obtaining all the information you can afford, as to the specific objects for which the fund in question is raised. As then I am intimately connected with this fund, have projected it, and fostered it from its birth, it is right that I should exonerate you from the task of satisfying M.'s inquiries ; and I shall therefore proceed to furnish him with the information required, with as much brevity as I can.

The Auxiliary Fund (as its name implies) is intended to aid another fund, which has been some few months in existence, is constantly increasing, and if improved to the amount required, will ultimately place the individuals by whose contributions it is formed, in the bosom of a co-operative community. Hence, the contributors are collectively called the Co-operative Community Fund Association.

The members of this association are fully aware of the evils inseparable from the competitive system, which precludes the possibility of every one of their body punctually maintaining his periodical payments to the regular fund. To meet those evils, they have wisely resolved to establish an *auxiliary fund*, to be formed of the accumulated profit of a trade now carried on, and which will continue to be so, for the benefit of the present members of the association, and for those who may hereafter join it. They have resolved to establish a repository for most kinds of goods, manufactured and raw, where they and the public at large may be supplied with each article of daily consumption, on terms at least as low as those of any other establishments. This resolution must be highly gratifying to all who

wish well to the cause of CO-OPERATION ; as it will afford them an opportunity of contributing to its ultimate success, without putting themselves to more inconvenience on that account than if they did not intend to countenance the object : because the only difference is, that the profits on the purchases they make will be disposed of in a different manner to what they now are. Now, the profits go to augment the establishment of some person or persons unconnected with co-operation ; if laid out at our repository, the contrary will be the result ; *the profits will go to achieve a great public object, the noblest ever contemplated by philosopher or statesman.*

In order to carry on business extensively, considerable capital of course is requisite ; to a limited extent we possess a capital already, obtained by the profits on articles sold from the commencement of our trading to the present time,—the first stock being furnished on credit by a liberal-minded individual. The donation which drew forth M.'s inquiries, forms a part of the capital ; and the laudable example set by the donor will, I trust, be imitated before long by numerous other friends to humanity. No philanthropist ever sanctioned by his bounty views more purely benevolent or more unboundedly beneficent, than those entertained by the association for whose use the Auxiliary Fund is designed.

It must be obvious to all friends of the Co-operative System, that no great degree of public excitement in their favour can be effected, until one or two successful experiments can be pointed to, as tests of the superiority of the *new system* over the old one ; and no adequate experiment can be tried, without the means of purchasing or renting a given quantity of land. Those means must also be of a permanent character ; so that happen what may, no fears can be warranted as to the community's ability to retain possession of the land. And if the land can be held in security for a few years, by funds drawn from commercial establishments in London or elsewhere,—not only one but a series of experiments may be pursued and matured ; not only a community but communities be cemented on a lasting and immutable basis ; the communities ultimately relying on their own internal resources for the means of paying the rent and rates to which they may be severally subjected.

When the last-mentioned period arrives, conviction will not slumber, but will be too strong for scepticism itself ; the exalted and the humble members of society will alike acknowledge the omnipotence

of truth, and resolve to enlarge her empire : the science of political justice will no longer need the written demonstrations of a Montesquieu, an Owen, or a Godwin, to support it ; the communities alone will be as living libraries of incontrovertible axioms founded on, and proved by actually existing facts, refuting by practical example the ill-founded maxims of those who have vainly contended, that an inherent love of vice is natural to the whole human race ; and that the scanty and uncertain meal, the thinly clad frame, the ill-furnished hovel, the uncultivated mind, and the incessant toil of the labouring man, are essential to the well-being of civilized society.

If the mode of raising an auxiliary fund by the means contemplated be at all successful, the Co-operative Community Fund Association will soon stand in a commanding attitude ; its field of operation will soon be extended ; its ranks will be speedily augmented : the few who may have given up the cause of Co-operation for lost, in despair of acquiring capital to their upright views, will feel their hopes revive, their benevolent desires reanimated, their generous exertions reinvigorated.

The views of unbounded philanthropy which influence the real friends of the co-operative system, it has been fondly imagined would long before this have been sanctioned by the voluntary liberality of the wealthy classes. These classes have come forward on numberless occasions to uphold local charities, to support limited schemes of public or private benevolence ; but the great design for the political redemption of man, which if acted upon would supersede the necessity of what is called Charity, has been allowed to make but slow progress, excepting in the good wishes of those who desire to benefit by its application. Perhaps the final triumph of the views is the more certain, the slower their progress : but yet, as all other schemes of public *utility and inutility* have been tried, surely the Co-operative scheme should have a fair trial also ; and its trial should commence under the auspices of the rich, who have on so many occasions vaunted their attachment to their fellow-mortals, and their desire of elevating them, one and all, to the highest state of happiness attainable. However, in the absence of their aid, every other honourable means should be resorted to without delay to obtain funds ; and the plan for raising them by profits on trade is one of the easiest which can be designed, because they can be so raised without putting the parties concerned to any expense, more than they are compelled to be at for their present convenience and support. The money which

they now lay out with general society indiscriminately, *may be laid out with themselves*, that is, at their own *dépôt*, as advantageously as at any other place. If an individual expends a pound in the course of a week, and the profit therefrom be two shillings, the Association's Fund will be that much the richer at the week's end. The pound must be expended somewhere; and if expended out of the Association, the profit may go to enrich its most violent adversaries. Moreover, the person laying out the pound might not be able to contribute sixpence a week to a regular fund, yet by purchasing at his own *dépôt* he may contribute two or three shillings, without making any sacrifice over what he must do if he laid out his cash any where else.

By opening a public mart also, we may make our enemies administer to our future happiness and security : our repository will be open to all comers ; the public will purchase at our magazine without asking how our profits are applied ; the same inducement to purchase which is held out by a private tradesman, may be offered by the Association ; and the same motive which leads purchasers to the tradesman's shop, will lead them to our store.

I hope one day to see the Association in possession of at least one repository in each of the leading thoroughfares in London. I anticipate the time when that body will arrest the tide of riches in its progress, and divert it into a new and publicly beneficial channel, instead of suffering all the gains of commerce to flow into the pockets of particular individuals, for their exclusive enjoyment ; when it will take up a few of those gains in their progress, from time to time, and by their means emancipate the million from the control of the units.

To prevent an improper application of the Auxiliary Fund, every thing connected with it will be under the control of a committee composed of members of the Co-operative Community Fund Association. The committee will appoint the proper officers necessary for the conduct of affairs ; and will periodically, or whenever required, report to the constituent body the true state of its funds, and afford any other information connected with its agency.

Thus fostered and protected, the Auxiliary Fund will, I trust, flourish until the end for which it is created be fully accomplished. Posterity will then remember it as the *Social Redemption Fund* ; and that the redemption may be perfect and lasting is the sincere wish of

Yours, &c. &c. C. F. C.

P. S. Our only *dépôt* at present is at 36, Red Lion Square.

BRIGHTON CO-OPERATIVE BENEVOLENT FUND ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Co-operative Magazine.

SIR,

31 West Street, Brighton. Ap. 12, 1827.

I BEG leave to inform you that a Society is formed in this town, called the Brighton Co-operative Benevolent Fund Association. The objects of this association are ; 1st, To raise by a small weekly contribution a fund for the purpose of enabling proper persons (who have not themselves the means,) to join Co-operative Communities, by giving the whole or part of the capital, as the circumstances of the individual may require ; and 2ndly, To spread a knowledge of the Co-operative system.

The means of obtaining these objects are small weekly or quarterly contributions from persons of either sex, and meetings at least once a week for the purpose of discussing the principles which form the basis of united co-operation and community of property. The members consist of all those persons who pay at *least* one penny per week towards the funds of the society. The society is governed by a committee, secretary, &c. chosen by the members. And one important feature is, that all drafts on the treasurer must be assented to by a majority of members present at their weekly meetings.

A collector is appointed for every 20 persons, and shall be member of the committee *ex-officio*.

You will perceive, Sir, that I have just sketched the outlines of our society, and I am sanguine enough to hope that no moderate-sized town in England will be without a society of the kind in a short time : the contribution is left so extremely low, that no person can say "I cannot afford it." But if persons are inclined and able they can pay more, as they do in our society. We have persons who pay from 1*d.* to 3*d.* per week. I can assure you, Sir, that the cause in which we are engaged is becoming a very popular one in this town, owing to its being more generally known and understood, which is all the system requires ; and I know of no plan likely to do more good than the formation of the before-mentioned societies : nor have I any doubt that, in a short time, persons from them will join their capital together, and join C. F. C's community, or any other which may arise.

I remain, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your Co-operative friend,

W. BRYAN,

Sec. to the Brighton C. B. F. Assoc.

N. B. I beg to state most distinctly, that this society does not interfere with members paying in their one, two, three or four shillings per week towards joining a community, but will rather accelerate their object. As soon as I can, I shall endeavour to send you up a few names.

SIR, 31 West Street, Brighton. March 18, 1827.
 "WHENEVER the labouring classes come to the resolve that 'we shall do for ourselves,' the thing is done, however slowly." I perfectly agree with your able correspondent C. F. C. in this assertion: it has occurred among many other schemes for the benefit of the working classes, (to which I belong,) that if fifty or even thirty heads of families of these classes, who receive for their labour on an average 50*l.* per annum each, were to co-operate in spending their money, they might on the lowest calculation, by purchasing their articles in large quantities, save two shillings in the pound, which would be, if fifty families joined, 260*l.* per annum.

Now, Sir, if each person still continued to pay the retail prices for the article, that sum would in less than five years enable the persons to form a community of co-operation and community of property; and this plan would not subject the parties to any privation in acquiring sufficient capital.—I merely throw this out as a hint; but it is most likely that you have thought of the plan yourself. It may be acted on in any moderate-sized town; it might probably be made practical in London; but I leave those who reside there to decide, as they must be supposed to be the best judges.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c. W. B.

UTILITY OF A PUBLIC MEETING TO EXPLAIN THE COMMUNIONAL SYSTEM.

To the Editor of the Co-operative Magazine.

SIR, Goswell Road, April 20, 1827.
 IN the Co-operative Magazine for this month, you have inserted a communication which I sent to you some two or three months ago; and so far I have to tender you my acknowledgements for your kindness. One thing, however, I am in some measure disappointed at;

and without further preface I shall state to you the source of my disappointment. This is simply, that as you were so kind as to give a place to the crude sentiments and ideas which escaped my pen, in reference to the *great subject* of united co-operation and community of property, and which appear in the present Magazine, I did certainly feel some little disappointment to find that the suggestions I submitted, in accordance with the observations made at page 150 and in the note to page 152, were altogether omitted. However, I am not disposed to be querulous with you for the omission; therefore let that pass. With your subjoined remarks in reference to the C. C. F. Association, I fully concur; and what you have recorded of the observations made to you by the Brighton Mechanic, I deem of too much moment to pass by without saying that my humble opinion thereon is most favourable.

In my former communication to you, I strongly urged the propriety of the members and friends of the London Co-operative Society immediately calling a public meeting, (suppose at the Mechanics' Institute.) Since I wrote that paper, it has been my lot to have frequent opportunities of meeting with several bodies of influential and intelligent mechanics—especially shipwrights, sawyers, brassfounders, watchmakers, shoemakers, and the Spitalfields silk-weavers;—and whenever the question of co-operation and its principles formed (and they uniformly did) a portion of the topics that were desultorily treated, I as uniformly found those, who made most pretension to understand the new system in all its bearings, ignorant even of its elementary principles, and almost equally as unacquainted with the destructive and demoralizing tendency of the present system of unprincipled competition and individual acquisition. When then it is considered how far unfounded prejudices may be extended through all the ramifications of the industrious classes, by the instrumentality of a few influential, although ignorant and self-opinionated, leaders of such classes,—it is not to be wondered at, that so few become enlightened as to their real interests; and that the generality of those classes, instead of looking upon the efforts of the friends of co-operative principles as the efforts of real philanthropists, consider and designate their proceedings as originating in a design to entrap or delude the unwary artizan for some sinister end.

These views being possessed by the majority of the working classes in the metropolis, is it to be wondered that so few come forward to form themselves into associations for the purpose of bettering their

condition, by establishing communities on the principles recommended by the London Co-operative Society? Admitting then this to be the fact, what can be done to undeceive in some measure at least those persons who are the subjects of so much error, and of prejudices which operate so forcibly to deter them from seeking to escape the ruin and misery to which they stand exposed by the present unsocializing, degrading, and crime-engendering system?

Recurring to what I have before stated, in reference to the propriety of the members and friends of the London Co-operative Society calling a public meeting at the Mechanics' Institute, I would strongly urge such a procedure now, and that at it a full development of co-operative principles should be given, and district associations recommended to be formed in various parts of the metropolis, and in the various trades thereof. One principal feature of these associations might be the adoption of the plan recommended by your very intelligent Brighton friend, the advantages of which you have so clearly established; and bad as things are, it is hoped there are many industrious artizans, &c. who are yet able to subscribe their 3d., 6d., or 1s. per week, although some perhaps might be under the necessity of paying some little less devotion at the shrine of Bacchus. One result I anticipate from the diffusion of correct knowledge of co-operative principles, would be this; that numbers, who are in some measure aware of the fatal consequences to which the present system appears to be hurrying us as a nation, would, upon seeing the certain way in which by forming themselves into co-operative communities they may escape the common ruin, abstain from expending a part of their hard earnings in inquiries after the news of the day in public-houses and coffee-shops; and in lieu of this, by subscribing as above, they would soon be able to realize that improvement in their condition, which many of them are now so eagerly expecting will be heralded unto them as about to take place through the irrefragable columns of a newspaper. But of such actual improvement ever taking place, I must confess myself extremely sceptical, except as a consequence of the universal introduction of the system of united co-operation and community of property.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

HENRICUS.

To our valuable Correspondent we beg to say, concerning the omission, at which he seems rather hurt, of his suggestions on the plan of a

large co-operative community near London, that we had not space for them in our last Magazine, and that we have not in this. Indeed we were the less anxious to give them, as we did not imagine we could see any strong prospect of the immediate establishment of such a community; and as we also thought that most, if not the entire of those suggestions had been anticipated in the "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT," long since recommended by our Society. If our valued Correspondent, however, perceives on a perusal, or, as probably he has read them before, on a re-perusal of the "ARTICLES" alluded to, that his suggestions contain any improvements on the plan recommended by the "ARTICLES," and will send them to us (we beg to suggest to him and to our other correspondents *clearly written, and only on one side of the page*) early in the month, they shall appear in our next. Our Correspondent wrongs himself and us in calling those "sentiments and ideas" of his which appeared in our pages "crude." If they had appeared so to us, we certainly should not have given them.

With regard to the public meeting which our Correspondent recommends, we agree with him that it would not be without utility. But a public meeting cannot be held without expense. The public meeting which was held at the Mechanics' Institute, when Mr. Owen was last in town, cost, in hiring the room, placarding and other necessary outlays, from 20*l.* to 30*l.* And if the mechanics and other co-operative classes do not attend to the *written* word, will they to the *spoken*? We acknowledge that the word,—a word of such high, such infinite importance, should be both *written* and *spoken*; and at *all times*, in *all places*, and on *all occasions* possible. But the Society has been at considerable expense in *writing* and *speaking* already; it is so still: and there must be a limit. —Who will come forward to its aid?—ED.

ASTONISHING EARLY PROFICIENCY IN MUSIC.

MASTER HARRINGTON, the child alluded to by the above announcement, is certainly one of the most extraordinary indications we have ever witnessed of the improvement which our species is capable of, and, we hope, destined to by early but unforced and agreeable cultivation. He has but a few days completed his sixth year; and yet he plays difficult pieces on that most difficult as well as most perfect of musical instruments, the violin,—and a full-sized one too,—with a truth, a precision, a taste and brilliancy, which a veteran professor need not be ashamed of. We certainly have often heard highly extolled adult performers without the same pleasure, independently of any other consideration but the mere music. It is perfectly

wonderful how his almost thread-like fingers, which seem scarcely capable of compressing the strings, fly over them in passages of Corelli and other masters with the rapidity of a long-practised performer: his minikin arm not being as long as his instrument, he is obliged to rest it on his shoulder, and yet he has a complete command over it as well as over the bow, which is nearly as long as himself. His father says he was never asked, by way of command or order, to play.—If children were generally instructed in the same manner in which he was, and their tastes properly attended to and directed, instead of being forced, we doubt not we should see equally early proficiency general in many branches, and consequently cease to view it as almost miraculous.

HOW TO PROCURE FUNDS FOR A CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY.

It appears to me the best way to raise funds for co-operative communities, would be to turn to advantage those circumstances which immediately surround us: the best method of doing this is to unite our present pursuit under our own individual management, subject to such conditions as shall give us one *General Interest and Feeling*.

This appears to me best attainable, situated as we now are in this large town following various pursuits, by coming together periodically, for the purpose of disposing to each other of such articles as our present pursuits will enable us to furnish; laying a per centage on each transaction for general purposes, which will be the means of forming one interest between buyer and seller; and also of ascertaining previously the *capabilities* of our members for entering into co-operative communities, as well as of avoiding considerable difficulties now experienced at Orbiston.

Further, this method of proceeding is immediately practicable, as it requires no general stock; the stock necessary being furnished by individuals under their own management, and being thus likely to be more beneficial in its results than when clogged with the too often tardy and disunited control of committees.

Another reason why the before-named plan appears to me preferable to any I have yet heard submitted, is, that we could not from its adoption suffer from either ignorance or mismanagement; as no individual would introduce on his own responsibility such things as he was unacquainted with: and were he to do so, the general fund could not suffer in consequence,—a circumstance that has often confused and perplexed many committees, who have taken upon themselves the management of concerns which they were little if at all conversant with.

In the next place, the foregoing plan is attended with no risk, and with little expense; only that of a place to meet in, a few lights and some other trifling items, will comprise the whole on which any expenditure is neces-

sary. It is simple, and practically easy ; as every transaction is settled for as it proceeds, and the profits disposed of monthly ; consequently we shall want no clerks or agents to keep our accounts, nor professional speech-makers to make us understand each other.

Various plans have been from time to time submitted to us. But they have uniformly required a sacrifice of our present income, or have been attended with the machinery of accounts and other intricacies :—hence they have as uniformly failed. The above plan requires none of them : consequently we must gain something, whilst loss is quite out of the question. Our present interest becomes identified with our future prospects ; and the progress of co-operation becomes easy, pleasant and agreeable, and can scarcely fail of gradually superseding the conflicting interests which at present exist amongst us.

AN OPERATIVE.

REVIEW.

"Physical and Metaphysical Hints for Every Body." By Dr. Biber.
Price 1s. Sherwood and Co. Paternoster Row.

THIS little work endeavours to show by facts, that metaphysics are as real as physics ; and that they are as simple, as easy to be conceived, as the latter. To a more penetrating eye it may also show the unity of that power which has organized and maintained the material as well as the spiritual world.

To those who not only look into the book, but let the book also look into them, it will give a lucid view of the relation in which they stand with the whole universe ; and one good at least that may result from it would perhaps be, that links will cease to consider themselves as the makers of the chain.

"The Revolt of the Bees." pp. 272. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster Row.

(Continued from No. 3. page 144.)

THE experimentalist bee uses all the arguments of combined reason and experience with the *Legislatores*, *Judicatores*, and *Ecclesiastes* of the ill-governed and distracted bee-hive ; but in vain. Owen did the same here ; and met with the same success. The *Legislatores*, *Judicatores*, and *Ecclesiastes*,—the *great* and *wealthy* of the hive,—with a few exceptions, did not and would not understand the experimentalist bee : our *legislators*, *judges* and *clergy*, our *great* and *wealthy*,

with a few exceptions, did not and would not understand Owen. When we say *would* not, we do not think we are going at all too far; for as the Co-operative and Communional doctrines are very simple and easily intelligible, it is plain that if our higher orders, especially the best-informed and most intelligent of them, *would* or *wished* to understand those doctrines, and applied themselves to do so, they could do so without much difficulty. And yet we pity, not blame them. They imagined, that if the communional system would meliorate the condition of the poorer orders, it would deteriorate their own; that if it would make the one better, it would make the other worse. Some of them probably imagined, that if they studied the system more deeply, they could not help perceiving, that justice required of them to sacrifice some of their own welfare to that of the larger number, the great body of the people. They therefore, in order not to be knowingly unjust, determined not to examine further that which on examination they imagined they should see they could not with any regard to justice but adopt to their own disadvantage. But they were mistaken. If they saw fully into the system, if they thoroughly comprehended it, viewed it in all its parts, in all its bearings, they would be convinced that it would promote their own real welfare, their comfort, content and happiness, at least as much as that of the poorer orders.

Lord Lauderdale understood something more of the system than most persons of his rank did; yet he only imperfectly understood it. He on a little consideration conceived it would improve the condition of the working classes without affecting, at least injuriously, that of his own class. He in consequence was friendly to it, while he conceived so. But when on further reflection he found that it would bring about a perfect equality of property, and that his class would be no longer a superior one, but should stand on a level with every other, and be liable to an equal share of labour as well as entitled to an equal, and only an equal share of enjoyments, he became unfriendly to it. He asked, "what shall we do?" because he believed that a loss (if it can be called a loss) of superiority would be a loss, at least a diminution of happiness. He in consequence opposed the system. And let us, communionists, not be unjust; let us not blame him, nor those of his class who think and act with him on this occasion. No one promotes or advocates any system or affair which does not benefit, or which at least he does not conceive benefits him

in some way. If we sacrifice our wealth or power to what we imagine is justice, we so far satisfy ourselves, and consequently so far are benefited. We believe that the communal system would promote the real welfare, the happiness of all mankind, ourselves of course included, and we accordingly are zealous for it. Some of us may sacrifice wealth and power, or prospects of wealth and power, for it; but such persons conceive that happiness is more valuable than wealth and power. Some also have the sense of justice so powerfully impressed on them by education and other circumstances, that they cannot be happy if they do not act up to that sense; and their happiness is more promoted by the mere gratification of that sense, than it would be by any thing else without it. Should such persons conceive that justice requires our system, and even that they themselves would not, in any other respect but the gratification of their sense of justice, be as advantageously circumstanced in it as they are at present, it is evident that in sacrificing other considerations to the promotion of it, they would be promoting their happiness.

It is not for us to say, or to pretend to judge whether Lord Lauderdale is, or is not so powerfully impressed with the sense of justice; or whether he does or does not believe that justice requires that the happiness of all classes should be equally consulted, and consequently demands the establishment of our system. But this we pronounce without fear of being unjust or uncharitable, that he did not fully comprehend the system; for if he did, he would necessarily have continued to countenance, or would at least not have opposed it. If he did, he would see, both that instead of in the least diminishing, it would greatly promote the happiness of himself and the class to which he belongs, and that justice requires its adoption.

But why does Justice require its adoption? In order to answer this question satisfactorily, it is necessary to define Justice; for few persons, few even of those most zealous for our system, exactly understand what it is. Some think it the preservation of the entire of his or her own produce to every one, or the power of not parting with this produce or any part of it but by voluntary exchange. Some think it the fulfilment of compact; some the fulfilment of law.

But none of these is the true definition. If one man were able to produce by some discovery or invention a thousand times as much as he could consume, and should take a pleasure in producing, while a thousand other men were unable to produce enough for themselves,

and should starve without some of the inventive man's produce, could it be justice that the one should be able to retain a superfluity which he could not possibly consume, while so many others were perishing through want of part of this superfluity? "There is a sore evil," says Solomon, "under the sun, namely, riches kept by the owners thereof to their hurt." Justice cannot require evil; and especially such a crying evil as one man's *hurting* himself by superabundance, and so many others being vitally *hurt* by want of part of this superabundance. Again, compacts, even voluntary compacts, have often proved *hurtful* to both parties. Many likewise have been the laws, which have produced the greatest *hurt*, the most direful calamities, not only to individuals, but to entire nations. Justice therefore cannot consist in the fulfilment of such compacts or such laws.

What then is JUSTICE? It is that rule of action or regulation of conduct which diminishes the happiness of no person, and promotes as far as possible the happiness of all persons within the sphere or influence of the action or conduct. No action or conduct contrary to this definition is just. Happiness is the true standard of value, the true rule, the principle and measure, of duty. The present, the individualized or competitive system is perfectly incompatible with justice as here defined, and does not permit any thing like real justice in any transaction. This system not only does not make all, but does not make any, as happy as possible: and it not only does not diminish the happiness of no person, but it diminishes the happiness of every person. Our system on the contrary would promote as much as possible the happiness not only of one class but of every class; not only of one person, but of every person within its influence, and would consequently diminish the happiness of no class, of no person. If this, therefore, be so, justice evidently requires the adoption of our system.

But is it clear that this is so,—that our system would promote such universal happiness? It is clear to us; it has been over and over proved; and the volume now before us strongly demonstrates and beautifully illustrates it. If, therefore, Lord Lauderdale had fully comprehended our system, it is impossible that he should have ceased to countenance, at least that he should have opposed it; for the strongest, the most permanent, the most unceasing and unalterable instinct and appetite of human nature is the love of happiness.

Yet, if our system is simple and easily intelligible, why did not his

lordship, who is certainly in many respects a clever man, fully comprehend it? Because when he once saw that it would bring all persons to the same level as to rank and property, he would not examine it further. Had he, however, stopped to consider it a little more, to view it a little further, he would have perceived that, instead of depressing or really lowering any person, it would raise, would elevate all. The very name of the system would seem to us to explain it sufficiently, if we did not find that many know the name and do not know the system. Co-operation and Community of Property appear to be very intelligible terms: yet those terms are to be somewhat qualified.—The communional, which is only an extension of the best single family system, qualifies those terms both to the co-operation, not of an equal quantity of labour from all, but of such quantities of it as are best adapted to produce the greatest possible happiness of all; and to the community of property, not which would confine all to an equal quantity of consumption, but which would give to all the power of consuming in the quantity most conducive to the happiness of each. The weak could not labour as much as the strong; the child as the adult; the sick and the infirm as the healthy, the sound and the vigorous; those who have not been accustomed to labour, as those who have been. In like manner, one person will require more food, more clothes, more assistance than another. The communional system, as that of a well-managed family, would regulate all those affairs so as to produce the greatest possible happiness, under the circumstances, of every person. Of Lord Lauderdale and those who have been totally unaccustomed to manual labour, or who are, from any circumstances, incapable of it, it would of course not be required; while those who have been in the habits of it, and are healthy, sound and strong, would find greater pleasure in it than in the contemplative labours or idle occupations of the present richer, or, as they are called, higher orders. Those orders also would be supplied with as much food and clothes as they could consume, and with as much assistance and as many conveniences, comforts and luxuries, as they could want for their greatest possible happiness. The present poorer, or, as they are called, lower orders also would be supplied with abundance of what they would want for their greatest possible happiness; and no quantity of labour inconsistent with this happiness would be required of them.

All this, indeed, could be easily accomplished in this country if the system were universally adopted in it. In our present state of science and machinery, one-hundredth part of our population could, by the arrangements of our system, easily, without toil or fatigue, produce an ample abundance of all the comforts and conveniences of life for the entire. In confirmation of this we shall mention one instance in the produce of raw material. In the village of Little Massingham, Norfolk, there are but twenty cottages, and of course but twenty families. Probably, then, there are in the village but twenty agricultural labourers. They produce, besides other articles, 4000 quarters of corn in the year: and they produce this quantity certainly without all the aid which the present state of mechanical and chemical science is capable of affording. General Beatson of Knowle Farm, near Tunbridge Wells, states the expense of labour in *finely* pulverizing *stiff* land for wheat by his method at from 10s. 1d. to 11s. 4d. per acre. There can be no doubt but steam-power could be brought into operation for ploughing and pulverizing land, as well as for spinning and weaving: and this would abridge human and beast labour in a still much greater degree. But we shall take the instance as it is. A quarter of wheat is calculated as an average abundance of food for each individual of the population per year. Thus then *twenty* persons produce an abundance of food for *four thousand*, or *one* produces abundance of food for *two hundred*; and consequently, according to this instance, a *two-hundredth* part of the population would produce food enough for the *entire*. The proportion of producers to consumers in manufactures is infinitely less, because mechanical labour is brought to operate infinitely more in manufacture than in agriculture. We shall mention an instance in a mechanical trade, in which, however, machinery is very little employed, and the productions of which are in very general use at home, and much exported to the East and West Indies. A very intelligent journeyman at this trade informs us, that in the United Kingdom there are but 20,000 members of the trade; that they do not work half their time; and that a very simple species of machinery could be easily introduced, by which a fifth part of the members could produce more than the entire do now. Thus *four thousand* men would produce in this trade, by the aid of very simple machinery, what is required by *twenty-two millions*, besides what is exported; or *one* would produce for *five thousand five hundred* at home,

and for numbers abroad : and the machinery contemplated in this trade is not near as powerful as that actually at work in many other branches.

From this, then, it follows that Lord Lauderdale and his class need not fear any want of the comforts, conveniences, or luxuries of life, from the equality which our system would produce. Succeeding generations would certainly be educated and formed to a greater equality of productive power and usefulness ; and they would be much the happier, the more healthy, robust, and corporeally and mentally vigorous for being so. Mechanical and productive power would also certainly be, as it is at present, in daily progress. Indeed, this power is now proceeding at such a rate, that there is no doubt but in a short time will be seen the nearly literal fulfilment of what in Godwin seemed a dream ; and mankind will have the power of commanding any quantity they wish of the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of life, without almost any manual labour. What then is it but infatuation in us, to be quarrelling, fighting, inflicting on one another every species of calamity and misery, and making what may with much less exertion be rendered a paradise, a perfect pandemonium,—about what we may, with infinitely less toil and with pleasure and invigoration, instead of pain and fatigue, produce in tenfold abundance,—in more abundance indeed than we possibly could consume ? Does it not seem madness too great for maniacs ? absurdity too much for idiotcy itself ? Yet Mill and Malthus, and our self-imagined profound political œconomists, in spite of facts as clear as noon-day, will pronounce with oracular pretension, that “ population must always press on subsistence,” and that this irrevocable decree of nature will always keep us “ fighting still, and still destroying,” instead of mutually assisting and enjoying ; always straying in the rugged and thorny mazes of contention, strife, anxiety, and anguish, instead of ranging “ the ways of pleasantness and paths of peace !”

All this our experimentalist bee tells the contending and afflicted inhabitants of the ill-arranged bee-hive ; and all this Owen told our equally misguided and equally wretched members of miscalled human society here. But the effect is with the bees and with us the same—the voice of wisdom is and was lost in the wilderness ; the buzz and the cry are and were raised against it.

When the experimentalist bee leaves the inhabitants of the hive, they proceed through the several stages of competition, contention,

litigation, strife, and contest ; and, as naturally and inevitably follows from individual acquisition, proceed from bad to worse, till at length the bees of different hives engage in general hostilities and destructive wars.

After one of their dreadful battles, in which three millions are slaughtered on both sides, the spirit of Allan Ramsay appears to the survivors of the wholesale murder, the horrid carnage, and addresses them in an animated and pointed expostulation on their equally depraved and mad departure from their former œconomy and arrangement of nature, of reason, and consequent content and happiness. The advocate and orator of individual property and of competition is by a general cry called forth to answer. He pleads the example of man in excuse, and thus replies :—

“You have demanded, most illustrious and gentle spirit,” said Orpheus, “in what order of the creation we can observe an example of individuals destroying others of the same species. It will, we presume, be deemed sufficient if we adduce one only, since that example will be found in a class of beings claiming the highest pre-eminence, and holding all others in subjection. You will perceive that we refer to that order of which you were a distinguished ornament, and exempt from the general failing, when your lyre was sweetly strung in the vale of Pentland.”

The spirit then enters into a train of reasoning, in which he traces the progress of man through the different stages of the hunter, the pastoral, the agricultural, and the commercial and manufacturing states ; and explains why he has not yet reached the communal stage, at which however he predicts his arrival at no very distant period. The following night the spirit conducts them in a cloud of lambent glory to the summit of Ben Lomond, to behold some human co-operative communities which are established at the bottom of the mountain, on the margin of a lake. Here indeed our author seems deficient in his arrangement of dates and progressive stages of advancement. But we will speak of this hereafter ; and at present proceed with the story of the work.

The bees range themselves in circles round the gentle spirit, who, pointing out the communities and their dwellings, public buildings and grounds, enters into an explanation of their arrangements, and gives a most animated and delightful description of all. At the approach of morning he ceases his discourse, and his auditors become

spectators.— The following passage will give a specimen of the author's descriptive powers :—

At the earliest dawn the bugle was sounded, and answered successively by each community on the borders of the lake. The birds began their songs, as if to welcome the return of light ; and the lowing of the cattle and the bleating of the sheep, together with the movements of innumerable animals, appeared as if all nature was reviving. As soon as the sun had ascended the horizon, a scene of varied and wonderful beauty was unfolded. The mountains, no longer presenting an aspect of solitary grandeur, with scarcely an inhabitant in the vicinity save here and there a lonely shepherd, now wore the appearance of presiding intelligence, and evinced that beings capable of appreciating the sublimity and loveliness of that highly favoured spot had become its fit inhabitants. Numerous flocks of sheep were browsing on the sides of the mountains, herds of deer were seen in various directions, and the cattle were grazing in the richest pastures. The meadows and fields resembled parks and gardens : care and attention had promoted the growth of trees new to the situation, and the plantations were tastefully disposed. The white stone of the buildings seen through the foliage of the trees ; the various temples and colonnades, the hanging woods, the intermixture of knolls with crags of rock, and the elegant vessels and boats upon the lake, formed a picture surpassing description. At eight o'clock the bugles were again sounded, announcing the breakfast. About an hour after, the inhabitants came forth :—some repaired to the fields, others to the manufactories (which were invisible, from the buildings being surrounded by plantations, and at sufficient distance to prevent any noisy operation being heard) ; while others resorted to the Athenæums and libraries as their various pursuits directed. In some parts of the mountains, in the colonnades and groves, groups were seen conversing, and many couples in friendly communion.

..... " Social friends
 Attun'd to happy unison of soul ;
 To whose exalting eye a fairer world,
 Of which the vulgar never had a glimpse,
 Displays its charms ; whose minds are richly fraught
 With philosophic stores, superior light ;
 And in whose breast, enthusiastic, burns
 Virtue, the sons of interest deem romance ;
 To Nature's vast Lyceum, forth they walk
 By that kind school where no proud master reigns,
 The full free converse of the friendly heart
 Improving and improv'd".—*Thomson*.

The females and children were engaged as well as the men, in agriculture during the summer months; the fields were all cultivated in the garden style, which, together with the custom of having all the population more or less occupied in agricultural exercise, rendered the employment extremely light; nor were they engaged, unless they desired, for any longer time than was absolutely necessary to the preservation of health. During this avocation the instruction of the children was going on: for as the mode of teaching was chiefly verbal, and the various objects in natural history frequently presented themselves, the intense curiosity of the young inquiring mind was excited.

The bees afterwards behold the return of a triumphant host; but triumphant, not from the sanguinary and dreadful conquest of enemies, but from the delightful and "twice blessed" assistance and relief to fellow-beings. This truly glorious return is depicted in most glorious colours. Amongst the human spectators of the ceremonies is a young, a learned and benevolent Persian named Saadi, descended from the ancient Persian poet of that name; and him and an intelligent young community-friend of his, named Douglas, the spirit points out to the bees as worthy their particular attention. The spirit finishes his discourse on this occasion with the following sentence:—

"For the sake of retirement, and also to afford Saadi a view of the fine scenery by moonlight, Douglas has invited him to a promenade at a late hour this evening upon the second terrace of the small mountain rising immediately above Tarbert: you will thus most probably have an opportunity of hearing some arguments in favour of each system, the Co-operative and the Competitive*."

* We are indebted for this expressive adjective to the author of the most able work upon Political Economy that has appeared since the 'Wealth of Nations.' In acute analytical investigation, in just and comprehensive views of society, and in bold uncompromising exposition of error, the 'Distribution of Wealth,' by Mr. William Thompson, is perhaps unrivalled.

(To be continued.)